PATTERNS OF POWER · AN ADDENDUM ON MECHANICS

A Man With a Weapon

How a running order keeps its violence cheap: the licensed categories that pre-judge the target, the installed insignia that pre-judge the striker — and the peril clause that prices every act of force the framework did not license in advance

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The Cheap Phase and Its Constraint

The architect phase, an earlier essay established, is the steep and violent end of the curve: force carries everything while the word takes hold. This addendum concerns the long phase after — the running order, the machine that runs itself — and the mechanics of how its violence is administered day to day, because the running order still uses force constantly, and the manner of the use is among the most refined technologies in the whole architecture of durable hierarchies. The doctrine of the cheap phase can be stated in a sentence: force is applied at the edges, early and small — the movement broken before it grows, the example made before the imitation spreads, the cost inserted, precisely and visibly, into the benefit-and-cost equation of anyone weighing defiance. A running hierarchy does not, in the main, fight its population. It *prices* the population's options, with occasional demonstrations to keep the price list credible.

But the demonstrations carry a standing hazard that the whole mechanism exists to manage. Naked force, witnessed, is poison to the belief layer — and it poisons by two routes at once. If the population reacts, the order has a confrontation it must now win expensively. And if the population does *not* react — if it merely watches the state's men beat a man for the state's convenience — something quieter and worse occurs: the witnesses *see*, for a moment, what they are living under; the floor shows through the carpet; the order is glimpsed as what it structurally is, organised force extracting compliance, and every such glimpse is a withdrawal from the belief account that makes the whole arrangement cheap. The running order's problem, then, is exact: it must use force routinely, and it cannot afford to be *seen* using force nakedly. The solution every durable hierarchy in the record has converged on is the subject of this addendum: the force must arrive *pre-interpreted* — wrapped, before the blow lands, in categories the population was formed to recognise as licensing exactly this blow, against exactly this target, by exactly this striker. When it works, the witness does not see force at all. He sees justice.

The Licensed Categories

Examine first the target's wrapping, because the framework — the furniture of the room, in the project's terms — arrives from the architect phase with something pre-installed that polite analysis rarely names: a target list. Every legitimating word carries, embedded in its formation, the categories of person against whom the hierarchy's violence is licensed in advance — pre-judged, pre-dehumanised exactly as far as the

licence requires, so that when the blow falls on a category member, the formed witness experiences not a man being hurt but a category being processed.

The list has an outside and an inside, and the commissioning insight supplies the modern pair. Outside the group, the licence is broad and cheap: the *barbarian* of the ancients — the word itself originally a sneer at unintelligible speech — the *infidel* and the *harbi* of the classical Islamic frame (the dhimma volumes of this collection were, among everything else, a study of who stood inside the protected categories and what it cost; the harbi, the unprotected outsider, stood on the target list by default), the *savage* of the conquest centuries, and the *terrorist* of the present order, under which label the contemporary hierarchy kills across borders with a domestic political cost approaching zero. Inside the group the licence must be narrower, because these are the order's own believers, and it is correspondingly more precise: the *criminal*, the *law-breaker*, the *heretic*, the *traitor*, the *enemy of the people* — categories whose function is identical in every room however the furniture differs: when the hierarchy inflicts its cost on a member of the category, the population does not rally to the victim. It assists. The neighbours testify; the crowd points the fugitive out; the denunciation arrives unsolicited — the Inquisition's tribunals, this collection found, ran on exactly such voluntary supply, and every police force in the modern world depends on it daily. The category converts the population from the victim's potential defenders into the hierarchy's unpaid auxiliaries, and it does so because the formed witness is not making a judgement in the moment at all; the judgement was installed in childhood, with the rest of the furniture, and the event merely activates it. He sees a criminal being arrested, a traitor being punished, a terrorist being struck — and he sees, simultaneously and necessarily, his own framework confirmed: *we* deal justly with wrongdoers; *they*, the people of the other framework, are the backward, the barbarous, the terrorist. The licence and the self-congratulation are one operation.

The record's category inventory is long and the project notes only its range, because the range proves the mechanism's universality: Rome's *hostis* declaration, which converted a citizen into a public enemy strippable of every protection — Sulla's proscription lists were category assignments with a bounty schedule; the English outlaw who *bears the wolf's head*, the medieval formula meaning he may be killed as a wolf is killed; the takfir of the purifying movements in this collection's Iberian volumes and their modern descendants, declaring fellow Muslims apostate precisely to move them onto the target list; the *kulak* and the *counter-revolutionary*, categories that processed millions; and the corpse of Ibn Hafsun, dug up and displayed at Cordoba as a Christian apostate — a category assigned posthumously, because the rebellion's dead leader was more useful on the target list than off it. Different rooms, different furniture, identical instrument: the words loaded at the architect phase include, always, the words that say who may be struck.

The Insignia

Now the striker's wrapping, which the commissioning insight states with a force the addendum can only annotate: someone has to tell you who the caliph is, and why obey; someone has to tell you who the President is; someone has to tell you what the policeman's uniform and badge mean — *otherwise the policeman is a man with a weapon, attacking people and imprisoning them.* The sentence deserves to be dwelt on, because it is literally and not rhetorically true. The physical event of an arrest — armed men seizing a person, binding him, caging him — is identical to the physical event of an abduction; the difference between them is located nowhere in the event. It is located in the witness's formation: in the installed knowledge of what the uniform is, what the badge warrants, what office stands behind the man and what order stands behind the office. Authority, to function, must be *legible* — and legibility is manufactured: the

insignia, the uniforms, the titles, the flags, the courtrooms' theatre and the throne rooms' choreography are the apparatus by which the hierarchy's agents are pre-identified to every formed witness as *not* men with weapons but the order itself, acting. This is why every architect phase in the record spends so conspicuously on regalia, and why the interpreter class's daily work includes a function the project has not previously isolated: beyond blessing policy and certifying the apex, the interpreters *narrate each act of state violence into its licensed category in real time* — the khutba explaining the campaign, the court pronouncing the verdict, the press conference naming the dead a threat. The Friday sermon and the evening news perform the same office: they file today's force under the right furniture before the witnesses can file it anywhere else.

And the limit case of the whole apparatus — target-licensing and striker-insignia performed as a single ceremony — this collection has already met, at the edge of a continent: the Requerimiento, the notarised speech read from horseback to uncomprehending villages, deriving the striker's authority from Adam, Peter and the Pope, and converting the hearers, upon their silence, into lawful targets whose deaths would be *their own fault*. The conquistadors' lawyers built, in one document, the entire mechanism this addendum describes — because, a year's sail beyond any enforcement, with no formed witnesses to manage, the crown still could not let its violence travel uncategorised. The licence was read to the jungle and recorded by the notary, for the only audiences that finally matter: the believers at home, and the order's own account of itself.

The Assignment Contests

Once the mechanism is seen, the surface of ordinary politics reorganises around it, because a standing share of every order's internal struggle is revealed as a fight over *category assignment*. The state's standing temptation is to move its opponents onto the licensed list — the dissident prosecuted as a criminal, the strike as sedition, the protest as riot, the rival faction as traitors: political trials, in every room in the record, are assignment ceremonies, their verdicts less important than their filing. The opposition's standing counter is to stay visibly inside the protected categories — *we are citizens, exercising the rights the furniture itself grants* — and to fight every attempted reassignment as the delegitimisation it is; the contests over a single word in a single news cycle (rioter or protester, militant or freedom fighter, gunman or soldier) are, by this addendum's lights, exactly as important as the participants instinctively behave. And the opposition possesses one terrible escalation, which this collection first met on the scaffolds of ninth-century Cordoba: the martyr's gambit — force the hierarchy to apply its violence to persons the framework *unmistakably protects*, in public, and the licence fails open: the sword inside the contract shows itself on a scaffold, or on camera, striking a target the formed witness cannot file. The volunteers of Cordoba engineered precisely this; the marchers of the modern rights movements, dressed in their Sunday clothes and schooled in non-resistance, engineered it before broadcast cameras with world-historical effect. The gambit's price is paid in the gambiteers' bodies, and its yield is collected from the order's belief account — which is why hierarchies fear disciplined, photogenic, unmistakably in-category victims more than they fear rioters, who file themselves.

One wrinkle completes the picture, and it joins this addendum to the protocol note beside it: the assignment system itself is furniture, and the commitment trap operates on it. In rooms whose loaded words are procedural — the Anglo room above all — assigning a person to the licensed category *costs procedure*: a trial, evidence, counsel, appeal; the category "criminal" cannot be applied by decree, and every attempt to cheapen the assignment (the internment, the emergency power, the enemy-combatant improvisation) is itself a loaded-word confrontation that factions can and do contest. In rooms whose categories are cheap — *enemy of the people* required no evidence by design — the licensing is frictionless and correspondingly inflatable.

Which exposes the mechanism's own currency risk: categories are credible in proportion to their husbandry, and an apex that processes too many people through the licence debases it — when everyone is a counter-revolutionary, the witnesses stop seeing counter-revolutionaries and start seeing, again, men with weapons. The great purges of the revealed orders in this collection's files all eventually crossed that line, and paid for the crossing in exactly the coin the mechanism predicts: belief withdrawn, coercion substituted, the running cost of the order ratcheting upward.

The Peril Clause

For the apex always retains the option the insight names: ignore the categories — call out the army against unmistakable citizens, shoot into the crowd the framework protects — and the record prices the option with brutal consistency. The empire's troops fired into a penned crowd at Amritsar in 1919, and the act, precisely because no installed category could absorb it, converted a generation of imperial subjects and handed the independence movement its mass base. Paratroopers shot marching civilians in Derry in 1972, and the failed filing — these were demonstrably not the licensed gunmen — ran the audit of the faithful in the insurgents' favour: the movement's recruitment surged on the state's own unlicensed violence. The pattern is general and is the mechanism read backwards: force outside the categories does not merely fail to be cheap; it actively manufactures the opposite of its intent, because every formed witness to an unfiled blow undergoes, in miniature, the radicalising collision the project's methods note described — the framework's promise against the elite's conduct, the asymmetry seen — and the order must thereafter buy with coercion what it had been receiving from belief, at the exchange rate this collection has priced from Cordoba's garrisons to the present. The categories, the insignia, the narration: all of it exists to keep the order's necessary violence on the licensed side of that line, and the line is patrolled daily, by the interpreter class, in every running hierarchy on earth.

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The Close

The discipline, held to the end, because this addendum describes an instrument that cuts in both directions and the Tacitus rule applies. The licensed categories are the apparatus of every tyranny in the record — and they are also, under another description, the rule of law itself: a category of "criminal," defined in advance, assigned by procedure, applied equally, *is* the protection of everyone outside it, the alternative being force at discretion; the insignia that make a man with a weapon legible as an officer are also what make him *accountable* as one. The same furniture, the licence and the safeguard at once; the difference lies entirely in how the assignments are made and who can contest them — which is to say, in the procedural content of the room and the jurisdiction of its counterweights, the variables this project's whole first inquiry ended by elevating. And the counter-position, conceded in full: some categories track real harms — the murderer is dangerous in fact, not merely in formation — and a method that treated all licensing as arbitrary would be propaganda in reverse. The addendum claims less and worse: not that the categories are false, but that they are *installed* — set into formation by someone, maintained by the interpreter class, bounded where power needs the boundary — and that the category which holds the murderer has, in every room in the record, been stretched at the margin to hold the dissident, because the licence was sitting there, paid for, and the stretching was cheap. That is the micro-dynamic the commissioning insight asked to have captured: the machine runs

itself, day to day, because by the time the blow lands it has already been judged — the target pre-filed, the striker pre-identified, the verdict pre-installed in the witness before the witness could walk; and the moment any of those three wrappings fails, the cheapest thing in politics becomes, in the space of one seen act, the most expensive. Tested — never revealed.

A Note on Sources

An addendum cites its own collection and the standing record. The mechanism's anchors are documented in the volumes where each appears: the dhimma's protected and unprotected categories, the posthumous re-wording of Ibn Hafsun, and the volunteers of Cordoba in the Iberia Series, volume one; takfir and the purifying movements in volume two; the Requerimiento, with its sources, in volume three; the Inquisition's denunciation economy in the same volume; the audit mechanism in The Audit of the Faithful; the furniture, the trap, and the protocol in Reading the Room. The Roman hostis declarations and proscriptions, the English outlaw's wolf's-head formula, the Amritsar massacre of 1919 and its consequences for the independence movement, and the Derry shootings of 1972 with their documented effect on insurgent recruitment are standard history, stated here at the level the standard accounts support. The licensed-category instrument, the insignia function, the assignment contests and the peril clause belong to the Patterns of Power project and the commissioning insight this addendum captures; its conclusions are held, like everything the project holds, as tested, never revealed.